

CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE  
ON DISARMAMENT

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FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH MEETING

THE UNIVERSITY  
OF MICHIGAN

OCT 11 1963

DOCUMENT  
COLLECTION

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,  
on Monday, 12 August 1963, at 3 p.m.

Chairman:

Mr. S. K. TSARAPKIN

(Union of Soviet  
Socialist Republics)

## PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Brazil:

Mr. J. de CASTRO

Mr. E. HOSANNAH

Bulgaria:

Mr. K. LUKANOV

Mr. G. GUELEV

Mr. D. TEHOV

Mr. G. YANKOV

Burma:

Mr. James BARRINGTON

U MAUNG MAUNG GYI

Canada:

Mr. E. L. M. BURNS

Mr. S. F. RAE

Mr. A. E. GOTTLIEB

Mr. R. M. TAIT

Czechoslovakia:

Mr. L. SIMOVIC

Mr. M. ZEMLA

Mr. Z. SEINER

Mr. F. DOBIAS

Ethiopia:

Lij Mikael IMRU

India:

Mr. A. S. MEHTA

Mr. K. KRISHNA RAO

Italy:

Mr. F. CAVALLETTI

Mr. A. CAVAGLIERI

Mr. S. AVETTA

Mr. P. TOZZOLI

Mexico:

Mr. L. PADILLA NERVO

Miss E. AGUIRRE

Mr. J. MERCADO

Nigeria:

Mr. L. C. N. OBI

## PRESENT AT THE TABLE (cont'd)

Poland:

Mr. M. BLUSZTAJN  
Mr. E. STANIEWSKI  
Mr. R. KIMYZANOWSKI

Romania:

Mr. G. MACOVESCU  
Mr. E. GLASER  
Mr. O. NEDA  
Mr. S. SERBANESCU

Sweden:

Mrs. A. MYRDAL  
Mr. S. LÖFGREN  
Mr. G. ZETTERQVIST

Union of Soviet Socialist  
Republics:

Mr. S. K. TSHELAPKIN  
Mr. A. A. BOSHCHIN  
Mr. U. M. TIMERBAEV  
Mr. V. V. SHUSTOV

United Arab Republic:

Mr. A. F. HASSAN  
Mr. Ahmed OSMAN  
Mr. M. S. AHMED  
Mr. M. KASSEM

United Kingdom:

Sir Paul MASON  
Mr. J. G. TAHOUDIN  
Mr. D. N. BRINSON

United States of America:

Mr. C. C. STELLE  
Mr. A. L. RICHARDS  
Mr. L. D. WEILER  
Mr. R. A. MARTIN

Special Representative of the  
Secretary-General:

Mr. D. PROTITCH

Deputy Special Representative  
of the Secretary-General:

Mr. W. EPSTEIN

The CHAIRMAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): In declaring open the 150th meeting of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, I should like to welcome all the members of our Committee, and also to express what I hope is our common feeling of satisfaction in connexion with the signing in Moscow on 5 August of the Treaty on the prohibition of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water (ENDC/100/Rev.1). The conclusion of that treaty is an important international event which confirms in a convincing manner that there are real possibilities of finding mutually-acceptable solutions to the urgent problems of today. In this respect the agreement reached in Moscow is of fundamental significance and opens up favourable prospects of settling the controversial problems dividing the world, provided good will is displayed. As is well known, unless there is good will, no mutually-acceptable solution can be reached.

As Chairman I should like to congratulate all the members of our Committee on the conclusion of the treaty, which all the members of the Committee have so much desired and for which they have made so many efforts; and, as we know, their Governments have already signed the treaty or have declared their willingness to do so. Permit me, therefore, with this brief welcome to declare open our 150th meeting of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee.

Mr. STELLE (United States of America): As you have noted, Mr. Chairman, our Conference reconvenes today to celebrate an historic event and to face the challenge which that event presents to our work here. Last Monday, 5 August, the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States signed in Moscow the Treaty (ENDC/100/Rev.1) banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water -- a treaty which represents, in the words of President Kennedy, "the first concrete result of eighteen years of effort". With a solemn sense of accomplishment and with renewed hope, we whole-heartedly welcome the signing of this initial arms control agreement.

The treaty has already been acclaimed by statesmen and others throughout the world. And every day, as a growing number of countries sign it, its impact is increased. It is hardly necessary in this gathering to dwell on the various effects the treaty may have. Most obviously it represents a measure which will greatly reduce the danger of radioactive fallout in the world. In a larger sense it has been heralded as the first sign of relief in the arms race, as a step towards preventing

(Mr. Stelle, United States)

the further spread of nuclear weapons, and as a contribution to the relaxation of international tension.

The delegations represented on this Committee can, as you have noted, Mr. Chairman, take a measure of pride in what has been accomplished, for they have played an important role in its preparation. It was in this Committee that the proposal for a limited test ban was discussed. It was here that the United States and the United Kingdom tabled last August their draft treaty (ENDC/59) banning nuclear tests in the three environments covered by the treaty which has now been signed. Also, it is this Committee which is charged by the Governments represented here and by United Nations resolutions with the task of carrying on in the arms control field and achieving further agreements.

I spoke earlier of the challenge which the newly-signed test ban treaty presents to our Conference. That challenge is whether we in this Committee can maintain the atmosphere of good will emanating from the signing of the treaty and whether we can make the best possible use of the opportunities which that event offers.

Many have already commented upon the potential significance of the treaty. We have heard from all sides of its possibilities. We have also, however, been warned of its limitations, of its inability to halt the arms race, to reduce nuclear armaments, or to prevent nuclear war. Secretary of State Rusk, speaking after the signing ceremony in Moscow, succinctly placed the treaty in perspective in the following words:

"It is therefore not yet possible for us to guarantee now what the significance of this act will be. History will eventually record how we deal with the unfinished business of peace."

But he went on to say:

"Each of our Governments can and will play an important role in determining what future historians will report. For it will be our individual policies and attitudes and actions by which this step in the arms control field can be made the first and only one, or the first of many."

The Secretary's words were addressed to the statesmen of the three States represented at the signing in Moscow; but we in this Committee could take them as an injunction to continue our efforts here towards the many agreements we have yet to reach before achieving our goal.

(Mr. Stelle, United States)

Speaking specifically with regard to the intentions of the United States, Secretary Rusk said:

"In a broader sense, the signature of this treaty represents the readiness of the United States to join with the two other original signatories, and with other nations, in a determined and sustained effort to find practical means by which tensions can be reduced and the burdens of the arms race lifted from the shoulders of our peoples."

During the next weeks we in this Committee shall be giving attention to some of those "practical means" to which the Secretary referred. We shall be discussing some of the collateral measures which have been proposed by Eastern and Western and non-aligned delegations. The United States delegation, for its part, hopes that the two measures proposed in its working paper (ENDC/70) on the reduction of the risk of war -- namely, the exchange of military missions and the advance notification of major military movements -- will be the subjects of further useful discussion here. Similarly, the creation of demuclearized zones has been mentioned by some delegations. A non-aggression pact between the States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the States parties to the Warsaw Pact, (ENDC/77) and measures to freeze or reduce military budgets, are two measures proposed by the Soviet Union which have received some support from some of the non-aligned representatives on the Committee. And on 30 July the Soviet representative mentioned the possibility of measures to prevent surprise attack, including the establishment of control posts (ENDC/PV.148, p. 11).

Some of these measures are potential subjects for examination by this Committee. An exchange of views on such proposals could lead us to a better understanding of which measures would be most susceptible to future agreements and which seem to evoke major differences of opinion.

Admittedly it will be difficult to remain patient, especially after tasting the first fruits of success in eighteen years; but we must guard against exaggerated hopes and irrational expectations. Agreements on further measures, no matter how much we all desire them, may not come quickly, for the problems and differences which have prevented any agreement for so long have not yet been resolved. Moreover, many of the measures I have mentioned are at present the subject of serious discussion and consultation among both Eastern and Western groups of allies. It would not be wise for us in Geneva to try to move forward too rapidly to agreements which are not yet ripe

(Mr. Stelle, United States)

Such action might prove in the end only to retard progress. At the same time, we should all give the fullest possible expression to our ideas here. Those ideas can be of great value and can lead at an auspicious moment to the long-sought agreement, as they did in the case of the limited test-ban treaty.

My Soviet colleague, as Chairman today, will report in due course that the co-Chairmen recommend that we also continue our discussion on general and complete disarmament -- specifically, on the items still remaining on our agenda in our discussion of stage I measures. He will report that the co-Chairmen have agreed to recommend that we should have a limited further discussion of item 5(d) of document ENDC/52, "Measures in the field of nuclear disarmament", before moving to the next item, which is "Disarmament measures in regard to military bases".

On procedural arrangements, my Soviet colleague will outline the recommendations of the co-Chairmen. We believe that, if the Committee approves those recommendations, we shall be making the best possible use of the weeks we have left before the beginning of the General Assembly and in that way shall give ourselves the best possible opportunity to foster the momentum of progress to which the United States delegation has pledged itself and which, I am certain, is the sincere wish of us all.

Sir Paul HILSON (United Kingdom): I shall be very brief, but I am grateful for the opportunity to associate myself, on behalf of the Government of one of the negotiating parties in Moscow, with the remarks which the Chairman, in his opening statement, and our United States colleague have just made about the partial test-ban treaty.

Perhaps I may remind the Committee that the United Kingdom Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, said at the time of the signature of the treaty that it was important for at least three reasons: first, because every family in the world could now be free from the fear that the health of its unborn children was in danger from man-made poison in the air; second, because, although the treaty was not in itself an act of disarmament, it did put a brake upon the arms race in the nuclear field and, in that context, called a halt to a fantastic waste of material resources; and third, because we might now hope that a break-through had been made in the relations between the major Power groupings of the world and that from that start we might create and develop -- however gradually -- a new era of confidence and of good will.

(Sir Paul Mason, United Kingdom)

In welcoming the signing of the partial test-ban treaty in Moscow and the speedy accession to it of so many countries, we have a right not to forget how much of the basic work in preparation for that treaty was done here in the Eighteen-Nation Committee and, earlier, in the three-Power nuclear test-ban Committee. All concerned can, I think, justly claim the credit due to them for the part which they have played in those conferences.

So far as the future of our work is concerned, I do not want to speak at length on that subject this afternoon. As the leader of the United Kingdom delegation, Mr. Peter Thomas, said on 30 July (ENDC/PV.148, p. 16) we must remember that we have to place the treaty which has been signed, important though it is, in its proper setting. We have to remember that, so far as our work is concerned, we have many other tasks which have to be accomplished. Our basic task, as defined for us by the United Nations General Assembly, is that of producing a treaty on general and complete disarmament, and we know how far we have still to go to achieve that aim. We have also much work to do in the study of the so-called collateral measures whereby, if we can make progress, we shall be facilitating the work which we have to do on the subject of disarmament proper.

We believe that our co-Chairmen, in conjunction with the delegations represented at this table, will be able to prepare for us a practical and a fruitful plan of work in which we may engage during the coming weeks. Certainly I pledge that the United Kingdom delegation will play its full part in such discussions in the future, as it has done in the past.

The CHAIRMAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian):  
As the representative of the Soviet Union I shall venture to state my views in regard to the work of our Committee and in connexion with the conclusion of the treaty.

Our Committee is resuming its work at a time when the peoples of the world have welcomed with a feeling of deep satisfaction the treaty signed in Moscow on 5 August on the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. This treaty is undoubtedly an important international event. All men of good will rejoice wholeheartedly at this first success in the struggle for the consolidation of peace. As is well known, the Soviet Union has always made every effort to bring about the cessation of nuclear tests and to make, in that way, a real contribution to the relaxation of international tension and the consolidation of universal peace.



(The Chairman, USSR)

The treaty signed in Moscow on the prohibition of nuclear tests in the atmosphere in outer space and under water (ENDC/100/Rev.1) is aimed at putting an end to the radioactive contamination of the atmosphere and at averting the great harm which the continuation of nuclear tests would cause to the health of human beings. This is fully in keeping with the humanitarian and peaceful aims of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist States which firmly uphold the policy of peaceful co-existence. The conclusion of the treaty was greeted here with great satisfaction by all the members of the Committee. At the Committee's meetings on 30 July and 1 August unanimous approval was expressed in regard to the agreement reached in Moscow on the prohibition of nuclear tests.

The conclusion of the treaty on that question answers the insistent appeals for the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests which have been made here by all the members of the Committee. Those appeals expressed the will and the hopes of all the peoples of the world who demanded the cessation of nuclear explosions which were contaminating the atmosphere and the waters of our planet and entailing harmful consequences for the people now living and for future generations. At the present time the number of States who have acceded to the treaty is already close on fifty, and it is still growing steadily. This shows convincingly that the agreement reached in Moscow on the cessation of nuclear tests is in the interests of all the peoples of the world and in the interests of the improvement of the international situation.

However, we must, of course, approach realistically the assessment of the situation which has come about as a result of the signing of the treaty on the cessation of nuclear tests. For all its positive significance, we must realize that this treaty does not solve the problem of disarmament, does not put an end to the armaments race, and does not eliminate the threat of a thermonuclear war. That is why the Soviet Union, like all peace-loving States, regards the agreement reached in Moscow on the cessation of nuclear tests as a good, encouraging beginning, as a first step, a first success which must be consolidated and developed by striving for the solution of the main problem - general and complete disarmament, as well as by reaching agreement on other measures aimed at lessening international tension. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. Khrushchev, said in his speech on 5 August at a reception in connexion with the signing of the treaty:

"We consider that the main thing now is not to rest content with what has been achieved, not to stop the struggle against the threat of another war and for the relaxation of international tension and lasting peace throughout the world."

(The Chairman, USSR)

We still have as the main task before us the problem of general and complete disarmament, upon which we must concentrate our main efforts, because only the solution of this key problem will make it possible to rid mankind of the threat of a devastating thermonuclear war. The members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee, acting in a spirit of good will, are called upon to display the utmost persistence and energy so as to move forward the solution of this problem and to achieve further positive results.

During the Moscow negotiations the Soviet Union put forward an extensive programme of measures which, in our opinion, should be implemented in the nearest future in order to develop the success achieved as a result of the signing of the treaty on the prohibition of nuclear tests. This programme was expounded by the Head of the Soviet Government, Mr. Khrushchev, in his speech of 19 July, in his replies to the correspondents of Pravda and Izvestia (ENDC/103) and in some of his other statements. The programme is well known to the members of the Committee.

We consider that in the first place we should agree to conclude a non-aggression pact between the NATO countries and the Warsaw Treaty countries. This would have exceptionally great importance for the improvement of the international situation. It is necessary to put an end to the growth of military expenditures and to begin at least by freezing, or better still, reducing the military budgets of States. We have mentioned a number of other measures the implementation of which could contribute to the further relaxation of international tension and to the consolidation of peace. We are referring to the question of establishing denuclearized zones, the renunciation by States of the use of foreign territories for stationing strategic means of delivery of nuclear weapons, the proposal for control posts, certain measures connected therewith, and a number of other proposals. The implementation of the aforesaid measures would be an excellent contribution towards the liquidation of the "cold war" and the establishment of confidence between States.

Now that the Committee is resuming its work, we must avail ourselves of the favourable conditions brought about by the signing of the Moscow Treaty and take further steps towards general and complete disarmament, towards lessening international tension. The Soviet delegation, acting in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence, will, as before, do its utmost to make its contribution to the solution of the problems under consideration by our Committee.

(The Chairman, USSR)

Now permit me, as one of the co-Chairmen and as the Chairman of to-day's meeting, to bring to your notice the following proposals regarding the Committee's future work which have been agreed between the co-Chairmen. It is proposed that this week we should hold three meetings: today's meeting, a meeting on Wednesday devoted to problems of disarmament, and a meeting on Friday, 16 August, devoted to collateral or partial measures. It is proposed that next week we should hold a meeting on Tuesday, 20 August, on disarmament questions, and on Thursday, 22 August, on collateral measures. In the following weeks before the Committee recesses until the General Assembly has finished its consideration of disarmament questions, it is proposed to adhere to the same procedure: namely that the Tuesday meetings should be devoted to disarmament problems and the Thursday meetings to collateral measures. The co-Chairmen have also agreed that before our recess in connexion with the General Assembly -- the date of this recess still has to be agreed upon -- the Committee should prepare its current report for the General Assembly.

With regard to the procedure for the consideration of questions relating to collateral or partial measures, the co-Chairmen have agreed that the most appropriate method of work on those questions would be to have a general exchange of views, that is to say to hold a general debate on all the questions before the Committee concerning so-called partial or collateral measures. This means that it is considered appropriate not to pick out any single question, because in the short time that remains to us it will hardly be possible to complete the work and reach agreement on anything. However, a broad general debate on all the questions which are before the Committee and which relate to collateral measures would have the advantage that it would enable all the members to exchange opinions, to state their views and attitudes and in that way we should be able to have a clear idea of the respective positions on these questions and to use the recess, which we shall naturally have during the work of the General Assembly, to study measures which could help us to reach agreement on the questions on the agenda of our Committee.

These, broadly, are the points on which agreement has been reached between the two co-Chairmen both in regard to the work of the Committee and on questions relating to the procedure of work. I must also add that, as the United States representative, Mr. Stelle, has already mentioned, in regard to disarmament problems it was agreed that the first meeting on disarmament problems, namely on Wednesday, 14 August, will

(The Chairman, USSR)

be devoted to continuation of the discussion on item 5 (d) of the agreed agenda for disarmament questions, that is to say, nuclear disarmament (ENDC/52). As for the meeting next week on Tuesday, 20 August, it is proposed that when the list of speakers on item 5 (d) is exhausted we should pass on to consideration of the next item, namely 5 (e) of the agreed agenda.

So much for disarmament and for the procedure for the future discussion of questions. We hope that the Committee will agree to the recommended procedure for its work. We should like to hear any comments on the aforesaid procedure of work agreed between the co-Chairmen.

Mr. LUKANOV (Bulgaria) (translation from Russian): I shall begin my statement with two quotations:

"Again a fresh wind is blowing from the white walls of Moscow, the heart of the great and immense Soviet country. The hopes of millions of honest people throughout the world and their faith in the forces of peace have been increased.

"It is true that the treaty does not definitely solve the question of the complete cessation of nuclear tests. We still have a long way to go and a lengthy struggle before us in order to achieve agreement on disarmament and to ensure lasting peace. It is clear to any reasonable person that the agreement reached in Moscow is a good and positive first step which is in keeping with the interests of peace and with the interests of the broad masses of the people." Those words were spoken by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Mr. Todor Zhivkov, at a large public meeting on 2 August this year.

On 7 August the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency published on behalf of the Government a statement which says, among other things:

"The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the whole Bulgarian people wholeheartedly welcome the treaty signed in Moscow on the cessation of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. The treaty is further evidence of the correctness and vital strength of the policy of peaceful co-existence; it contributes to preventing the contamination of man's environment by radioactive substances and inspires the hope that further steps may be taken towards the relaxation of international tension and the consolidation of peace. This is also shown by the fact that in the treaty

(Mr. Lukanov, Bulgaria)

the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America and the United Kingdom proclaimed as their principal aim the speediest possible achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control in accordance with the objectives of the United Nations."

As is well known, on the very next day, 8 August 1963, the People's Republic of Bulgaria signed the Moscow Treaty (ENDC/100/Rev.1).

What do these quotations tell us? First of all, they tell us that the people and Government of Bulgaria do not consider it a coincidence that the first treaty, albeit partial, leading to the relaxation of international tension, was signed in Moscow, in the capital of the country in which some forty-six years ago, for the first time in the history of mankind, there resounded from a State rostrum the words "Peace, agreement among peoples, disarmament". In the speech of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr. Zhivkov, one feels the genuine joy of a people who wish to live in peace with all neighbouring, near and distant countries. At the same time, it is evident from responsible speeches and statements by the Bulgarian Government that it assesses very soberly the success achieved in Moscow, which is only a first step and which must necessarily be followed by other measures aimed at the further relaxation of tension and, eventually, the consolidation of peace. In these speeches it is once again emphasized that the most sure and reliable way to achieve this is general and complete disarmament.

The opinion of the Bulgarian people and its leaders coincides with the opinion of the overwhelming majority of mankind. As is well known, from 8 August up to today, in Moscow, Washington and London, the representatives of dozens of States have signed the Moscow Treaty on behalf of their respective countries. What does this fact prove, especially if we bear in mind that the responsible statesmen of many countries which have signed the treaty, until a short while ago did not wish even to hear of the possibility of signing an agreement, and theorized on the "humanitarian" character of nuclear tests which, they alleged, must eventually lead to the creation of a "clean" bomb? In this case there stands out quite clearly the general trend of international development, in which the forces of peace, headed by the Soviet Union, are gaining more and more ground and compelling even those who are disposed towards military adventures to accept peace. It is becoming clear that when the forces capable of defending peace combat in favour of it, peace can be ensured.

(Mr. Lukanov, Bulgaria)

This fact is important because of the practical conclusions drawn from it by the advocates of peace. It inspires them to struggle even more energetically for the maintenance of peace and to redouble their efforts towards further successes in the name of peace and progress.

I should also like to stress that the quotations which I made at the beginning of my intervention from the statements of responsible Bulgarian statesmen show our readiness to go towards the goal that has been set, namely, the ensuring of lasting peace, without proceeding from maximalist positions; that is, we are ready to accept a number of agreements similar to the one signed in Moscow and which will gradually change the situation, lessen tension and prevent a third international conflict. The aforementioned responsible statements also show that the Bulgarian Government is particularly concerned about how to prevent a nuclear war. In this respect we share the general concern of the United Nations, which in its resolution of 21 November 1962 stressed that it was --

"Determined to avert the grave dangers to the human race of nuclear confrontation, on which the recent crisis focused attention, ..."

(A/RES/1767 (XVII) (ENDC/64))

Not many days are left before the beginning of the eighteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly. At that session our Committee will be able to report that the Sub-Committee on a Treaty for the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapon Tests which it set up in March 1962 has to a considerable extent fulfilled its task. But, unfortunately, we cannot report any other achievements. However, we are deeply convinced that such achievements would be possible and quite practicable. We are glad to note that the question of concluding a non-aggression pact between the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty and the States parties to the North Atlantic Treaty is being discussed by responsible circles. We should like to hope that we shall set about the conclusion of a pact in the very near future. The contribution of our Committee on Disarmament, which is pledged to recommend measures aimed at the lessening of tension in international relations and thereby facilitating the solution of the main problem, disarmament, may consist in a concrete recommendation in that respect.

Indeed, who would wage a world war if the two main groupings -- NATO and the Warsaw Treaty States -- would not take part in it? These two groupings include the most powerful States from the military standpoint, including three nuclear Powers.

(Mr. Lukanov, Bulgaria)

Considerable military forces of these groupings are in direct contact with each other. These States are closely connected with a number of other countries not included in the aforesaid groupings. In short, if a non-aggression agreement were concluded between these two groupings, to be followed by speedy agreement on a stage-by-stage reduction of armaments until they were completely eliminated, there would be no third world war.

Thus we consider that the next step towards the consolidation of peace should be a non-aggression pact. We should like to imagine the following picture: continuing the good beginning made in Moscow, States would agree to conclude before the end of this year a non-aggression pact between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty groupings; an agreement on the reduction of Soviet and United States troops in the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany respectively, and on an exchange of missions to be attached to these troops in both countries; an agreement on the establishment of observation posts in places (ports, airports, etc.) where it is possible to concentrate military forces capable of carrying out a surprise attack; and other similar agreements.

How the world, all the peoples without exception, would welcome 1964! How much nearer would be an agreement on disarmament, as a result of which the situation would radically change in the direction of the peaceful development of peoples according to the laws of human society and continuous progress!

Of course, side by side with the recommendations on the so-called collateral measures which I have listed, we should continue to discuss questions relating to a treaty on general and complete disarmament, always keeping in mind that this is our main task and that all the other problems depend upon its successful accomplishment. The agreement reached in Moscow on the cessation of nuclear tests gives us reason to hope that, in discussing the problems relating to measures for general and complete disarmament as a whole and to measures for the first stage in particular, there will be reflected the good will that has already been manifested, the good will to achieve mutually-acceptable decisions and to secure the speediest possible results aimed at eliminating the danger of a thermonuclear war in the very first stages of the disarmament process.

Allow me to deal with one more question. During the debates in our Committee delegations have often referred to various provisions of the Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations of 20 September 1961. This is not only natural but correct, as the Joint Statement remains one of the basic documents

(Mr. Lukanov, Bulgaria)

in our work. In the light of the situation which has now come about as a result of the first success achieved in Moscow, paragraph 4 of the preamble to the Joint Statement acquires particular importance. The text provides:

"... that to facilitate the attainment of general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world it is important that all States abide by existing international agreements, refrain from any actions which might aggravate international tensions, and that they seek settlement of all disputes by peaceful means, ..." (ENDC/5, p.1)

It is hoped that this important principle of the disarmament negotiations will in future be observed more strictly than has been the case hitherto.

In conclusion, the Bulgarian delegation congratulates once more the delegations of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom on the signature of the Moscow Treaty on the partial cessation of nuclear tests, and wishes them still greater success on the road that has led to the Moscow treaty.

Mr. BARRINGTON (Burma): Since it is not yet on the record, I should like to read to the Conference the following statement which was released by my Government on 29 July 1963:

"The Revolutionary Government of the Union of Burma welcome the agreement reached recently in Moscow between the tripartite Powers for the banning of nuclear weapon tests in the air, in outer space and under water.

"The Revolutionary Government consider the agreement to be an important step forward for the realization of a total and comprehensive test ban in all elements and the eventual elimination of all weapons of mass destruction, including those utilizing nuclear energy, thereby meeting the wishes of all peoples who have hoped and prayed for a society living in a world free from fear.

"The Revolutionary Government hope ardently that the spirit which has engendered the present agreement and which provides an essential support to the foundation of world peace will spread to all nations with nuclear capability, both extant and potential, thus bringing renewed hope and encouragement to humanity."



(Mr. Barrington, Burma)

I should also like to inform you, Mr. Chairman, and my other distinguished colleagues, that in accordance with this statement my Government has decided to sign the treaty which was concluded in Moscow on 5 August 1963 between the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom, and that the signature will take place in the course of this week.

To quote my Government's statement, this is indeed "an important step forward". It is a most welcome and hopeful step, and we heartily congratulate the Governments of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom on their agreement to take it. But only history will reveal how significant it is. As a first step its true significance will depend on how many further steps it generates. My delegation earnestly hopes that it will prove to be the beginning of a chain reaction which will continue until humanity is rid for all time of the threat of extinction; and we pledge all our efforts and energies to the attainment of that goal.

As for the programme of work for the remainder of this session outlined by the Chairman earlier (supra, p.11) I should like to say that my delegation finds it generally suitable taking into account the existing situation and circumstances.

Mr. SIMOVIC (Czechoslovakia) (translation from Russian): The Czechoslovak delegation would also like to express its profound satisfaction in connexion with the signing of the Treaty on the cessation of nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. In the past few days the attention of the whole world has rightly been concentrated on Moscow, Washington and London, where the representatives of a great number of governments of various countries have added their signatures to this most important Treaty, which all the peoples of the world hope will constitute a turning-point in the post-war history of disarmament negotiations.

On 8 August 1963 the Treaty was signed in Moscow on behalf of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. David, and at the same time in Washington and London by the Czechoslovak diplomatic representatives accredited there. On signing the Treaty, Mr. David made a statement from which I should like to quote the following:

(Mr. Simovic, Czechoslovakia)

"In signing the Treaty today we are expressing the will for peace of the whole Czechoslovak people, who are vitally interested in the positive solution of all outstanding international problems, in order to achieve the relaxation of international tension, to strengthen confidence among States and to ensure lasting peace throughout the world. In the signing of the Treaty we see a most important first step along this path".

It is an encouraging fact that statements in a similar spirit have been made by several dozen other governments which have already signed the Treaty or have expressed their willingness to affix their signatures to it. These entirely positive statements should be interpreted not only as evidence of the satisfaction felt in connexion with the first substantial success achieved in the field of disarmament, but also as an expression of the hopes and legitimate expectations of the peace-loving peoples of the whole world that this first step will be followed without delay by further steps, which will lead mankind to the cessation of the armaments race, save it from the threat of a thermonuclear war and, through the accomplishment of general and complete disarmament, establish on our planet a world free from weapons and war.

As I have already had occasion to stress on 30 July (ENDC/PV.148, p.35), we regard the conclusion of the Treaty above all as confirmation of the correctness and vital importance of the principles of peaceful co-existence between States with different social systems, and of the possibility, given sufficient good will and readiness, of solving even complex international problems satisfactorily through negotiation. We are convinced that if future disarmament negotiations are conducted in the spirit of the Moscow Conference, it will be possible, step by step, to reach further agreements, which will lead to the achievement of our basic aim, namely, the drafting of a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

In order to create suitable conditions in that respect we should strive now to achieve the solution of a number of problems, to which I referred in my statement on 30 July and which were once again listed in detail by the representative of the Soviet Union in his statement today (supra, p.12) and in the first place the question of the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO States and the Warsaw Treaty States.

(Mr. Simovic, Czechoslovakia)

We should like to believe that all governments and, above all, the governments of the countries represented in the Eighteen-Nation Committee, will avail themselves to the utmost of the favourable situation which has come about as a result of the signing of the Treaty on the cessation of nuclear weapon tests, in order to achieve further progress in the field of general and complete disarmament and, for the time being, first and foremost in the field of so-called collateral measures. As regards the Czechoslovak Government, Mr. David stressed in the statement he made in Moscow in connexion with the signing of the Treaty that it

"will continue to make every effort to secure the adoption of further measures in the spirit of the Treaty just signed which would bring us closer to this goal".

Permit me, Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation, to express the conviction that the work of the Committee in the relatively short time remaining before the beginning of the eighteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly will be successful, that it will yield positive results, and that the Committee will thereby justify the hopes which world public opinion has placed in it.

With regard to the programme of procedure for the future work of our Committee which you have proposed for the period until the next recess, the Czechoslovak delegation has no comment to make.

Mr. CAVALLETTI (Italy) (translation from French): At our meeting on 30 July my delegation expressed its feelings concerning the conclusion of the nuclear treaty at Moscow. That treaty fully conforms with the aims and hopes of the Italian Government; and, indeed, after that meeting the Italian Government acceded without delay to the treaty, which was signed by our representatives in London, Moscow and Washington. The spirit in which the whole of Italy, its Government, its public opinion and the press of all parties, greeted the signature of the first important agreement reached between East and West is therefore perfectly evident.

I asked for the floor today, however, mainly because I wished to take up and stress some of the remarks which you, Mr. Chairman, made at the beginning of this meeting and which I considered to be particularly appropriate and happy. You emphasized the important part which the Committee's work had played in the conclusion

(Mr. Cavalletti, Italy)

of the Moscow nuclear treaty. Similar feelings were then expressed by Mr. Stelle, the other co-Chairman, and by the United Kingdom representative, both of whom also stated that, in their view, this Committee had contributed greatly to the important progress that had been achieved.

The sentiments which you expressed, Mr. Chairman, as well as those of Mr. Stelle and Sir Paul Mason, were certainly greeted with satisfaction and gratitude by all the members of the Committee. We have all striven loyally and patiently, each of us within the limits of his ability, to contribute to the achievement of the agreement which is now the object of such unanimous satisfaction. I think that the contribution made by the delegations of the non-aligned countries was particularly important, and that the fact that the value of our efforts has been recognized today by the representatives of the three nuclear Powers should be a source of justified satisfaction and pride to us all, as well as a source of encouragement for our future work.

Perhaps, Mr. Chairman, mention could be made in our communiqué for today of the remarks made at this meeting by you and the other representatives of the nuclear Powers about our Committee's activities.

Mr. PADILLA NERVO (Mexico) (translation from Spanish): I should like to take this opportunity to express on behalf of my delegation our satisfaction at learning that more than fifty States have already signed the Treaty of Moscow. I am also gratified that Mexico should have been one of the first countries to do so, as announced on Saturday, 27 July.

I have stated on a previous occasion what we take to be the significance of the Treaty of Moscow (ENDC/PV.148, p.28). I believe that the emphasis should be laid on that significance rather than on all that has not yet been achieved. We are all aware that the Treaty prevents radioactive contamination, is a contribution to reducing international tension and to slowing down the armaments race, opens the door to other agreements on the remaining differences between East and West, and undoubtedly constitutes an important step forward.

I was particularly pleased to hear the representative of Burma suggest that this agreement should be the beginning of a chain reaction opening the way to other agreements. I am all the more pleased since I expressed the same idea at our meeting on 30 July.

(Mr. Padilla Nervo, Mexico)

I should also like to associate myself with what Mr. Cavalletti has just said, and to express my satisfaction at the fact that the representatives of the three Powers which signed the Treaty of Moscow have recognized at today's meeting the effort, the work and the support which the members of this Committee have afforded to the great Powers, and the way in which they have striven towards the achievement of this agreement. I am the more pleased inasmuch as we found no reference in the statements made by the representatives of the three nuclear Powers at Moscow to the work carried out by this Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

I should also like to say a few words about the programme of work which the Chairman, speaking also for the other co-Chairman, has suggested to our Committee.

The fact that the co-Chairmen have suggested that we should consider alternately (a) questions of general and complete disarmament and (b) collateral measures at the forthcoming meetings does not mean, I believe, and should not mean, that the Committee's interest in and hopes for the eventual conclusion of an agreement to prohibit underground explosions too have waned.

Among the collateral measures mentioned by the representatives of both the Soviet Union and the United States of America are a non-aggression pact, the freezing of military budgets, and the question of denuclearized zones. The representative of the Soviet Union also referred to the question of refraining from stationing nuclear weapons in foreign territories.

May I be permitted to refer once again to the suggestions which I made at the meeting on 30 July, and in particular to my suggestion (ibid, p.31) that we should also study the possibility of reaching an agreement among the Powers to prohibit the orbiting of nuclear weapons or stationing them in space? As I stated on that occasion, I believe that a study of the eventual establishment of denuclearized zones can have no meaning or importance if space is to be nuclearized by orbiting nuclear weapons or stationing devices with nuclear weapons there.

In conclusion, I wish to express on behalf of my delegation our most fervent hopes that the spirit and atmosphere engendered by the signature of the Treaty of Moscow will continue to prevail, and that in our subsequent discussions advantage will be taken of this atmosphere to reach agreements and progressively to broaden their scope.

The CHAIRMAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): Permit me, in my capacity as Chairman and as representative of the Soviet Union, first of all to express my gratitude for the warm words of welcome and congratulation, and also for the expressions of deep satisfaction in connexion with the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests. As there have been no objections to the future procedure of work of the Committee recommended by the co-Chairmen, permit me as Chairman of this meeting to announce the adopted procedure for the future work of the Committee.

I will sum up once again: this week, in addition to today's meeting, we shall have two more meetings, one on Wednesday, 14 August, and another on Friday, 16 August. In the following weeks we shall consider problems of general and complete disarmament on Tuesdays, and questions relating to collateral or partial measures on Thursdays.

With regard to the procedure for dealing with the question of general and complete disarmament, on Wednesday, 14 August, we shall continue to consider item 5(d) (ENDC/52); on Tuesday, 20 August, if there are still any speakers, we shall continue to discuss this item and, when the list of speakers on the item is exhausted, we shall pass on to item 5(e).

As regards the procedure for considering questions relating to collateral measures, before the Committee's recess at the time of the General Assembly, we shall hold a general debate on questions raised by members of the Committee in connexion with so-called collateral or partial measures.

If there are no other comments, I shall consider this procedure of work adopted.

The Conference decided to issue the following communique:

"The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament today held its one hundred and fiftieth plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Tsarapkin, representative of the Soviet Union.

"Statements were made by the representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom, Bulgaria, Burma, Czechoslovakia, Italy and Mexico.

"The representatives of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States paid tribute to the contribution made by the Eighteen-Nation Committee to the successful conclusion of the Test-Ban Treaty signed on 5 August in Moscow.

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Wednesday, 14 August 1963, at 10.30 a.m."

The meeting rose at 4.30 p.m.